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ABSTRACT

How teachers' incentives affect the way they go about their work is the subject of this report. Data (originally collected for another related study by the author) were obtained through classroom and nonclassroom observations and teacher interviews. The report consists primarily of a comparison of the teaching of two teachers. Material from lesson observations and interviews is quoted extensively. In analyzing these quotes, it is assumed that all lessons have a five-part structure: demarcation, opening, instruction, closing, and demarcation. This structure is seen to be the way to focus attention on those aspects necessary in the creation of the classroom culture. The data analysis suggests that the two teachers have differing incentives. Mr. V.'s primary goal is "teaching," while Mrs. Y. sees "children's learning" as her primary incentive. The author analyzes how these two perspectives are apparent in the components of the lesson structure. (Author/JM)

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# TEACHING LESSONS: INCENTIVES FOR STRUCTURING LEARNING ACTIVITIES

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EA 014 574

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## Teaching Lessons: Incentives for Structuring Learning Activities

Two critical issues confront teachers, administrators and policy makers when they attempt to evaluate educational practices. The first issue is regarding a means to motivate school people to do their best. This concern is ultimately laid upon the teacher with a serious attempt to motivate teachers to improve the performance of their students. The second issue is to determine what to do to affect improvement. This is usually determined to be related to staff development, in-service training or similar programs, again normally focused upon the teacher.

This report is an attempt to show how incentives on teachers serve to guide their work. The guidance determines the quality and type of teaching that they engage in, ultimately presumed to improve student performance. (This report does not deal with the outcome). Furthermore, this report will describe what teachers do which may or may not improve performance. Therefore, the two major areas that this report deals with are: incentives which guide teachers' work and how teachers go about their work.

### Methodology

This report is based on a year-long study of 15 elementary school teachers supported by a grant from the National Institute of Education,

"Controlling the Impact of Rewards and Incentives on Teacher Task Performance." The study was conducted in a Southern California metropolitan school district.

Data were collected by classroom and non-classroom observations. Teachers were also interviewed twice during the school year. Relevant documents and written materials were also collected and compiled.

The data were analyzed during the collection process. The first cut revealed the basic work orientations which teachers brought to their work. The interaction between those orientations and the flow of rewards and incentives to teachers was later examined.

The present report is limited to the presentation of a comparison between two teachers. The analysis of the lesson structure shows how rewards and incentives impact teachers' task performance.

Theoretical Framework

Rewards and incentives operate for classroom teachers differentially and in several ways. An incentive is defined as "knowing what you intend." This means that teachers take to their work an imaginary picture of how the classroom should operate and they work to reproduce that imagined world in the classroom. Teachers who are confused about their intentions are those without this imaginary world which they must reproduce, therefore, they do not have a standard against which to determine what to do. A reward is defined as the teacher's "knowing how well she/he is doing. Within this context, teachers yearn for "acknowledgement without scrutiny." In this study, it will be shown how the "nature of the work" serves to continually reward the teacher. This means that to the extent that acknowledgement is not externally provided, the potency of the teacher's daily classroom

experiences to reward him/her increases. It is for this reason that the research findings are consistent in reporting that students' performance is the most rewarding aspect of teachers' work. This section of the report will show how incentives and rewards serve to guide teachers' work.

It is generally agreed that teachers' work is teaching. In the classroom teaching is actualized through the conduct of lessons. Several researchers have dealt with lessons as theoretical units. In this report, Mehan's (1979) theoretical framework has been found to be the most applicable. He deals with teacher-led verbal lessons. A specific structure is identified which serves to describe the lessons.

The elements which Mehan specifies in the lesson are: demarcation, opening, instruction closing and demarcation. Figure 1 is an illustration of this structure.

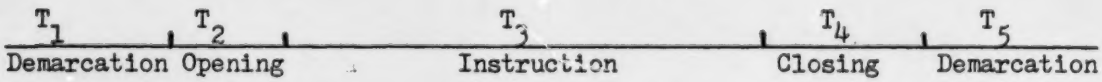


Figure 1

The Structure of Lessons

As stated above, this structue was found to be present in teacher-led verbal lessons. The present report will show that this structure is present in all other types of lessons. Four types of lessons have been identified: 1) teacher-led verbal, 2) activities, 3) practice drills, and 4) tests. We will focus on types two and three, activities and practice drills. The structure of these lessons will be demonstrated. This section of the report will show how teachers go about their work.

## The Character of Lessons

Lessons take place in classrooms which have been described as crowded,

complex social systems (Jackson, 1968). The classroom normally consists of one adult and many children (Waller, 1932; Parsons, 1958). Today's elementary classrooms are more likely to consist of several adults and many children. Dreeben (1970) describes the ecology of schools and classrooms in this fashion.

> Their division into isolated classrooms, each containing an aggregate of pupils (from about ten to fifty at the extremes, and averaging near thirty) under the direction of one teacher. This fact in itself determines much of what happens in schools (51).

The classroom is, then, a social system consisting of many participants engaging in the teaching-learning process. The initial problem is to reconstruct a culture conducive to the attendant tasks within that classroom. The reason this is necessary is because this group will continue to reconstitute itself every day for at least a year. In the elementary grades it means that the group is together for most of the day as well. The teacher, then, confronts a randomly selected group of students who must be enculturated into the classroom's social system. This process takes place by having teachers structure their work into lessons. These lessons take four forms: teacher-led verbal lessons, activities, practice drills and tests.

As can be seen from what has been presented the problem for the teacher is social and not psychological. The teacher seeks public social evidence that the students understand why they're in classrooms. This evidence is provided in the context of the lesson in terms of comprehension and enculturation. That is, content is mastered and the form in which it is exchanged is adhered to as well. The structure in which this takes place is: the teacher elicits a response from the student, the student responds and the teacher evaluates. This simple sequence serves as the confirmation of a

specific culture which is being enacted within the classroom. Lessons, therefore, serve as the descriptors of this culture.

Why do lessons assume such a prominant place in this context? There are several reasons, one of the most potent being, that the technology of teaching or the "linkages between means and ends - the idea that technology pertains to the means of getting a job done," as Dreeben states (1970:83) is not explicit. This means, then, as Dreeben and Smith and Geoffrey (1968:68) so aptly describe "The teacher's task, then, is to create a set of beliefs. The teacher gives directions and the pupils follow them." Dreeben specifies four areas of teaching technologies.

1) "The instructional process, where questions of technology concern methods of presenting curricular materials and designing classroom activities."

2) "Motivation, the means by which teachers engage pupils willingly in instructional activities and establish favorable sentiments toward school and the schooling process.

3) Classroom control, managing the assemblage of pupils, maintaining order and creating a climate conducive to learning.

4) Changing social arrangements within classrooms and developing new arrangements, both within the school and without, that do not depend on the use of classrooms" (87).

The above presented four areas are interdependent in the context of the classroom. The instructional process and classroom control occur simultaneously, therefore, the technologies for either must be conducive to application in a setting where both demand simultaneous attention. This dilemma is solved in structuring classroom life into lessons. Beyond this, lessons are

further structured to avoid the breakdown of either area. There is one other consideration. In order to be efficient ritualization is assumed so that great portions of classroom life become routinized and natural. This, therefore, is the "culture" created. Motivation and changing social arrangements within the classroom are secondary means by which the culture is enacted and evidenced. We can, therefore, conclude that the structure of lessons serve to properly focus attention to those aspects necessary in the creation of the classroom culture.

We are using the term culture much as Winter (1966) defines it. "We mean the understood typification of modes of acting and "reasons" for acting which are available or "at hand" in the everyday experience of the society" (130).

## The Structure of Lessons

### Demarcation

One of the characteristics of schools which is often remarked upon by visitors is the tolling or ringing of bells. In order to signal the start of the school day a bell is rung across the campus. Hearing the bell alerts all school participants that the school day has begun. Most school members rarely remark on it; the usual response is to move to the appropriate work place. In those settings where the sound of the bell is ignored, however, even the start of the school day is disrupted. Failure for any participant or group of participants to respond to this sound signals a serious social difficulty in the building. It is normally later associated with pupil deficiencies.

The bell illustrated above can be used as the ultimate example in

signaling the start of something different, "we are now in school." This signal is referred to as demarcation. The daily life of all participants is halted and the school day life begins with the bell's tones. This means is thereafter used to signal upcoming changes regarding the rest of the school day. The functions of demarcation are two-fold. Demarcation serves to focus the attention of the participants and to synchronize the activity to be engaged in. For example, movement from a mathematics lesson to a physical education one requires a demarcation period. This period assures the end of the mathematics lesson, calls attention to the upcoming lesson in physical education, and synchronizes the activity of all students so that all move to physical education at the same time.

Normally, demarcation periods are short. They serve only as transitional phases, therefore, ritualization of this phase is encouraged. As stated above, a good example of a demarcation is the use of the bell. Other examples are just as effective even though more subtle. For example, sometimes the teacher moves from one part of the classroom to another. This physical movement signals to the students the end of the previous activity, directs attention to a new one and synchronizes the activities of all so that they can commence the new lesson. The following is an example of this type of demarcation.

> Mr. V., then, walked back to table 3 and sat down with that group of children. He passed out word cards to each of the children in the group.

Here we see a teacher who has ended an activity and is about to begin another. Three signals are clearly presented. He walked to table 3, sat down, and passed out word cards. The above is an example of a subtle and simple demarcation to be followed by a familiar activity.

When the anticipated lesson is novel the demarcation needs to be more

pronounced. This raises the issue that variety increases the complexity and length of the demarcation phase. This usually means a verbal explanation of some sort. An example of this is presented below.

> Mr. V. stands, "The people who are working at the cutting and pasting, it is almost time to get finished. You should have two or three things now. I want you to clean up and meet me at the rug, please." Mr. V. pulls the map down. "OK, let's stand, please." Everybody stands. "OK, let's rotate, please."

Here we see the teacher standing, announcing the end of the previous activity, and specifying the preparation for the upcoming one. Note the means by which he calls attention, "I want you to clean up and meet me at the rug, please." While that is being done he pulls the map down. He synchronizes the activity by saying, "OK, let's stand,please. OK, let's rotate, please." The action confirms the success of the demarcation phase.

As was stated previously, part of the social system's culture requirements are insuring that confirmation of the enactment of the proper roles is forthcoming. As in the previous example, the physical movment served that purpose. Sometimes it is necessary to point this out verbally. In the following example we see how the demarcation phase is clarified as a time to focus attention.

> "Just go to the tables, please, and sit down. I will explain what to do. Very good." She compliments students who are sitting quietly. Alright, your heads are down, your lips are closed. You are listening to me."

As stated earlier, the second function of demarcation is to synchronize activity. An example of how this is accomplished is presented in the following.

> It is the end of the drawing story teller. When Mrs. Y. is finished talking with the woman she walks to the front of the room and says, "OK, it is at 1:30 that it starts. Is there anyone else who needs to sharpen pencils?" Hands go up. Mrs. Y. OK's each child as they take turns.

The synchronization takes place as the students sharpen their pencils in turn.

As can be seen from the above presented examples, it is important that the demarcation phase be successful. Sometimes demarcations fail and they usually do so because attention and/or synchronization do not occur. An example of a demarcation that fails is the one presented below.

> "Everyone sit down." Dischelle does not want to take her jacket off and the room is warm. "Dischelle, did you just eat an ice-cream?"
> "Yes."
> "That is why you are cold." Two girls come into the room.
> "We need Chris." Chris leaves with him.
> One boy is standing in the back of the room. "Don't leave until I give you a note to go home." She then walks to Benton and says, "I will give you a note to go home."

In this example, it can be seen how the teacher is unable to get the attention of the class members. The demarcation finally ends by diverting attention to individuals. It can be assumed that a lesson is not forthcoming.

An illustration of demarcation failing because synchronization doesn't occur is the following.

> Mrs. Y. stands in the front of the room. She has written material on the board. "Alright, children, we have one of our states on the board. We will read it and then copy it. We will have just enough time to do it before we go home." Some of the children are still outside eating their icecream. Mrs. Y. herds them into the room.

In this excerpt we can see how the teacher had to wait and bring the children in before the lesson could begin. The demarcation phase was therefore faulty. As can be seen from the examples cited, successful demarcations mean that the teacher can proceed with the lesson. Unsuccessful demarcations mean that the lessons are postponed. They are postponed for the entire group or a portion of the class.

This report set out to show how incentives serve to guide teachers in

their work. Let us now determine how it is that teachers grant prominance to demarcations and try to show how this part of their work can be linked to incentives. The examples presented above represent two different teachers.

Keeping in mind that the definition of an incentive is knowing what you intend, the data should indicate whether those with clear incentives are those who are more likely to have successful demarcations. When Mr. V. was asked what the most important thing he taught was, he responded in this manner.

> I would probably go back to love of learning or how to learn or getting used to learning, things of that sort. Because to say that anything, like behavior is more important than attitude or attitude is more important than academics, it all goes together and I think it is just to get the kids to like to learn. And it sort of includes all those other things.

The above quote shows that this teacher is quite precise in what he intends his efforts to yield.

In contrast, let's see if Mrs. Y., the other teacher whose examples of demarcations have been noted, holds the same view. When she was asked what the most important thing to be taught was she said,

> I think I try to stress think, look, think. Can you see anything before you ask what to do next? Maybe, I am wrong but that is it.

Note how there is a feeling of ambivalence in the view presented. This teacher places the primary responsibility upon the children while Mr. V. puts it another way, "<u>just to get</u> the kids to like to learn." Mrs. Y. doesn't really know what she intends. She says, "I think, I try to stress." Then, she qualifies her view by saying, "Maybe, I am wrong, but that is it."

When queried abour <u>satisfaction</u> in teaching, Mr. V. says,

> Watching a child make a discovery. They didn't exactly understand something and then the excited tone of voice, "Oh, now I understand." That is one of the most satisfying things for me.

In contrasting what is satisfying to Mrs. Y., our data show

> I like, really a sense of wanting to learn. I like when children start to see what they can accomplish.

The similarity in what is rewarding is instructive. That means that for teachers the most rewarding aspect of their work is to see children learning through their efforts. This can be further validated by the following remarks. Mr. V. states this concerning his reward

> I don't like the reward business of 'we are going to hand out the certificate to you, distinguished teaching and all of that. But I mean it has its place for some people but I am personally not interested in that kind of stuff. I prefer that they would give me something to do a better job with the kids because that is where my reward is. It is with the kids. It is not with looking good to the public or any of that sort of thing. I mean, I like the public and I like getting along with parents, it is just a personal thing.

When asked about what would be rewarding Mrs. Y. said

> For one thing, I think that if we had a K-1-2 where children were part in a 1 to 10 ratio and evolved, either tested, taught or screened set-up so that by the time they got to third they could test into third grade. Then there would not be the-- they would still vary in their abilities and speed of learning so you would still have plenty of groups but the point is, it would give them some feeling of "I've reached one landmark in my school. I've made third grade." And then there would be better respect for the system. As it is now kids are let go so far before they are called on it. It's pathetic. It's pathetic that sixth grade children are reading at second grade level.

The interviewer asks, "Now would this make your job more rewarding?"

Mrs. Y. responds

> Oh, I'm sure it would. I would have children who could understand what they are supposed to do at the third grade level and I am sure it would make every teacher...You could do more, not in a total group, as I said you would still have to sub-group, but you could at least sub-group with the feeling of some success in doing it. As it is now, I'm in this "One to grow on" group. I have one third grader in the second grade group and she was the diehard. She can do but she is just an antsy, hyper type kid that school is the last thing on her mind.

From the examples presented above, we can see that teachers differ in the incentives which are operant. They are similar in what they view as rewarding, but due to their differences regarding incentives, they also differ in what they view as to what would contribute to being rewarded by the students' achievement. The connection between incentives, rewards and the conduct of the work of teachers can be specified in this way. Those teachers whose incentive system is intact or those teachers who know what they intend organize their lessons in a manner that shows they have precise intentions in mind. There is also another characteristic which is associated with this intention. Their orientation is to <u>teach</u> students, "just to get the kids"... Those teachers whose intentions are less precise have an orientation focusing on the <u>children's learning</u>. The rewards are, therefore, related to these incentives. Those teachers whose focus is teacher are rewarded by having something <u>to do a better job with the kids</u>. The contrasting view is that those teachers whose focus is on children's learning are rewarded by having children appropriately placed. For example, the teacher states it this way, "I would have <u>children who could understand what they are supposed to do at the third grade level</u>. The demarcation phase is therefore differentially viewed by both teachers. On the one hand it received differentiated attention, and on the other, the function is adjusted. Mr. V. places primary importance on it and adheres to its function of calling attention and synchronizing activity for the entire class. Mrs. Y. treats it more casually and redirects its function to call attention to individual students. Synchronization of activity for the entire classroom is rarely achieved. The teacher who knows what to intend focuses on getting the attention and synchronizing the children in order to teach. The teacher who

is less sure about the intentions focuses on those children who are paying attention.

Introduction to the Lesson

The second feature in the structure of lessons is the introduction to the lesson. It sets out to direct and inform concerning the lesson proper. The primary function of the "opening" section of the lesson is to provide information about what is going to happen during the main course of the lesson.

Directives

The opening or introduction to the lesson provides information regarding the lesson proper in one of two ways. It may direct or it may inform. Directive openings are usually short and precise. For example a teacher says, "We are going to write some things." A more elaborate opening is the following, "Put your math away and take out your spelling books. Everyone should have their books' open to page 11." A similar illustration is this one. "Let's look up here at the board. We are going to do some alphabetizing. Let's look at these words and try it."

If the demarcation has been successful, if the directive is precise, then the teacher can proceed. However, there are times when the directive is not initially successful. In these instances teachers have corrective directives. An example of this type of a directive is the following.

> "Alright, here we go. Everyone read me the title. Who is going to read first?" asks the teacher.
> A child begins to read and another member of the group says, "I can't hear her."
> The teacher says, "We are not going to go on until everyone quiets down. Armando, turn around. I am somewhat ashamed of you. Maybe,

> you can't handle activities. Maybe, we shouldn't have them. Sit down in your seat, Patty. I didn't say anything about running for anything. First thing we're going to do is read this sheet. Make sure to follow along. Cindy, you can't do it by talking to Wanda." The class quiets down. "Follow along, fellows."

Another type of directive is the future directive. This is used to anticipate upcoming events. An example of a future directive is the following.

> Mrs. Y. says to the reading group, "We are going to read a story after lunch. You are all trying to work ahead in your workbook and skillpak and you haven't done enough reading. I will put work on the board for the other children so I can continue working with you.

Sometimes directives are written on the chalkboard instead of given verbally. An example of written directives is the following.

> Mrs. Y. stands in front of the room. She has written material on the board. "Alright, children, we have one of our states on the board. We will read it and then copy it. We will have just enough time to do it before we go home."

In contrasting the two teachers, we find that Mrs. Y. gives directives quite often and that they are varied in their form. She presents short, corrective, future and written directives. Mr. V., on the other hand normally presents short and concise directives to the complete class or few highly detailed and elaborate directives when the class is divided into several working groups. An example of this is the following.

> Mr. V. stands by table 3 and watches the other children get settled. He says to the children at table 1, "Darnette, let's have you pass out the purple pages. Robert, you hand out the glue sticks, Sue, you hand out the scissors. Anita, you have chosen to come over here and sit by yourself for awhile."

As stated previously, sometimes lessons are opened with information. These openings may be addressed to the total class or groups or to individual

children. Interestingly, our data do not show either Mrs. Y. nor Mr. V. using informative directives in the conduct of their lessons. One way to explain this is to return to our original theoretical assumptions. In the first part of this report it was stated that the lesson is the descriptor of the culture of the classroom. In establishing this culture two aspects must be adhered to, content and form. The opening of the lesson is directed at the form of the lesson, and in turn, at the culture of the classroom. Therefore, directive openings assume a prominant role. These directive openings function in three ways: 1) they define the basis for evaluation, 2) they describe and direct the sequence of activities in the lesson proper, and 3) they orient or anticipate the lesson proper, i.e., the type of lesson is described and the taxonomic content is clarified, for example, it is specified whether the students will be dealing with math or spelling.

An example of the way in which these three functions are served is in the following opening.

> Orienting and anticipating the lesson proper: "This page is called hypothesizing. We are going through different kinds of things that make you think better. Last week we went through cataloguing."
>
> Describing and directing the sequence of activities: "Let's read what it says. I will read out loud and you read it to yourself." He reads it out loud and then goes to the chalkboard. "We will make a list of the girls on one side and the boys on the other. Then we will count the number of days they have been absent."
>
> Basis for evaluation: "I can tell that Melissa is listening very carefully. I appreciate that." To another student, "If you do not want to participate maybe, you do not need a book. Remember, at the beginning I said you could look through the book all you wanted so when we worked in the book we could stay on the same page. I kept my part of the bargain, what about you?"

It is hypothesized that success in carrying out the lesson is dependent on the degree to which these three aspects of the directive opening are

present. Therefore, the intent of the opening of the lesson is to establish the necessary culture for the conduct of the lesson.

Sometimes lessons are individualized. This is necessary because directing the total class is unsuccessful or impractical. Therefore, the teacher resorts to individualizing the directives and focusing attention on the proper form for the conduct of the lesson. This, by necessity, then, requires an accentuation of the evaluation aspect. For example, in the following illustration Mr. V. says

> "We are on page 86. Carlos, you are too close for Sarah to be comfortable. I see that Jeannette has her book open quietly to the page I asked her to. I see that Julie has turned the pages on the corners." Mr. V. does not want them to do that. "These are new books."

The failure of the opening of the lesson jeopardizes the conduct of the lesson. Failure is sometimes due to the unclear character of the opening of the lesson. The students fail to realize the lesson is in progress. An example of this is the following.

> Mr. V. asks, "Johnny and Pedro, are you busy?" About a second before one of them gave the other a quiet but accurate punch in the chest. "I want to see at least 5 things on your paper." While the warfare slowed down it did not cease. These two boys continued their fight very quietly. Little kicks with the feet, little shoves. The one who was punched feels that he is getting the worst of the deal and goes up to speak to Mr. V.. He splits them up. Johnny says, "They did not give me any paper." "Did you choose your magazine? Go choose it and get your paper from Yolanda." These two boys will quietly fight until, in the end, Mr. V. will seat them in different parts of the room. It is a fascinating battle, because they will fight, and at the same time keep an eye on Mr. V. to prevent getting caught. Johnny who received the first blow goes up to Mr. V. again. He is very upset, but he has been hitting Pedro rather fiercely. Pedro follows him. Mr. V. will not let them talk. "Did you get your magazine? You are supposed to be working over there. I will not talk with you. I will get you some magazines and you will work on them the rest of the morning. You two will not go to your groups anymore today."

In conclusion, the opening of the lesson is an important part of the lesson because it functions to establish the form by which the lesson will be conducted. More precisely, it specifies the acceptable behavior for both the teacher and student.

Content and Form of Lessons

After the introduction to the lesson has been presented teachers proceed to present content in specific forms. The conduct of the lesson includes the exchange of academic information. "The teacher and students exchange factual information, opinions, interpretations of academic materials and the grounds of their reasoning" (Mehan, 1979:41). The form that the lesson takes is in initiation or elicitation by the teacher, reply by the students and evaluation by the teacher.

In this report we are primarily interested in activity and practice drill lessons. Teacher-led verbal lessons have been well analyzed by Mehan and our data bear out his findings. One of the underlying assumptions in this study is that the lesson structure is so pervasive that it is present in all types of lessons.

Activity Lessons

Recall that one of the functions of lessons is to actualize the classroom culture. Activity lessons are risky in that the students' activities may generate a disruptive culture. Therefore, activity lessons may be avoided by some teachers. For example, we do not have data regarding Mrs. Y. conducting activity lessons. We have Mr. V. conducting an activity lesson which very similar to the teacher-led verbal lessons. It is hypothesized that the reason for this is to insure that the culture building remain under the teacher's control. This type of lesson, nevertheless, does provide opportunities for

students to display more than the minimal competence necessary in the conduct of lessons. As was stated from the beginning students must master academic content, but in addition to this, they must also master "the appropriate form in which to cast their academic knowledge" as Mehan (1979:133) states. An example of this will now be presented. In addition to showing how activity lessons are conducted in order that the teacher retain control, this particular example also shows a potential disruption is instead an indication that the students have mastered the form which lessons take.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "Let's start with that table over there." |
| Response: | The children at that table get their books and go to the library. |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). |
| Elicitation: | "Do you have any reason for hitting Sarah? Are you sorry?" |
| Response: | "I am sorry. I was just playing." |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). |
| Elicitation: | Mr. V. reads one of the library books that is going to be returned. He also shows them the pictures. "What is Gordon?" |
| Response: | "He looks like a bear." |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). |
| Elicitation: | The story is read. |
| Response: | Students listen. |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). |
| Elicitation by student: | "Would you read my book, Mr. V.?" |
| Response by teacher: | "This is the Walt Disney story. This is a section of a bigger story." |

The lesson is modified when the student interjects an elicitation. Note how the teacher maintains the normal rhythm by his response. The teacher reads the story. Both response and evaluation are handled and teacher goes on to next step in the lesson.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "Ok, let's try this table quietly." |
| Response: | The children go to the library. (The children are coming back from the library and they put their new books on the tables and then sit down on the rug again. When they sit down, they make sure they do not block someone else's view). |

Evaluation: (Inferred).

In this next example we see an extension of the interaction in order to restore the structure and insure that the teacher remain in control. The use of a question is instructive.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation by student: | A child gives him his new book. |
| Response by teacher: | "How many children are left in the library?" |
| Response by students: | "Three." |
| Evaluation: | "Ok, you may go now. I will not read any Christmas ones yet." |
| Elicitation: | "This one doesn't have very many words in it so you will have to look at the words very carefully." |
| Observer's notes: | (It is a book containing beautiful art work). |
| Elicitation: | Mr. V. then reads another book. "Can you see?" he asks the class. |
| Response: | They can see it ok. |
| Evaluation: | He reads and shows it to them. |
| Elicitation by student: | "Will you read my book?" |
| Response by teacher: | "Is it a Christmas book?" |
| Response by student: | "Yes." |
| Evaluation: | "I will read Christmas books after Thanksgiving." |
| Elicitation: | "How about Gregory? It's long and we may not have time to finish it." |
| Response: | The children listen to the story. |
| Evaluation: | The children really enjoy the reading of Gregory. |

As can be seen from this example, the content is presented by the teacher. The teacher reads from a book, shows pictures and continues. There are other types of attempts made to insure the form of the conduct of the lesson is preserved. For example, at the very beginning, Mr. V. evaluates and elicits a response in the following,

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "Do you have any reason for hitting Sarah? Are you sorry?" |
| Response: | "I am sorry. I was just playing." |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). Teacher goes on with the activity. |

As the activity continues, Mr. V. reminds the students to continue

observing form in the following example.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "Ok, let's try this table quietly." |
| Response: | The children go to the library. (The children are coming back from the library and they put their new books on the tables and then sit down on the rug again. When they sit down, they make sure they do not block someone else's view). |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). The teacher goes on with the activity. |

An example of the teacher's sensitivity to the children's total participation in the activity as a means for ensuring the process continues, the following is instructive.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "This one doesn't have very many words in it so you will have to look at the words very carefully." |
| Observer's notes: | (It is a book containing beautiful art work). |
| Elicitation: | Mr. V. then reads another book. "Can you see?" he asks the class. |
| Response: | They can see it ok. |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). He reads the book and shows it to them. |

The above presented lesson is graphic in its illustration of the pervasiveness of form in the conduct of lessons. Most importantly, it depicts the culture of the classroom in a very precise manner.

Practice drill Lessons

The other type of lesson which, because of its form, may jeopardize the establishment of the desired culture is the practice drill one. These lessons normally follow teacher-led verbal lessons with the intention being that students will have additional time to work with the content just being presented. These types of lessons, too, must preserve the structure presented above. That is, the teacher elicits, the students respond and the teacher evaluates. In a practice drill lesson, it is problematic to preserve this structure, nevertheless, our data show that the success of the practice drill lesson is dependent on the degree to which the three aspects of the structure

are applied.

An example of a practice drill lesson is the one presented below.

Elicitation: "Does everyone understand what you are to do now? If you finished your spelling, you may work in your word folder. Everyone go to your group now." Mr. V. goes to the group sitting at table 1 to give them further instructions and make sure they had everything they needed to work with. Mr. V. then walked back to table 3 and sat down with that group of children. He passed out word cards to each of the children in the group. He said to them, "Study the top card and see if you can figure out what it is. If you are not sure, then we will help you. I'll give you an example." He looks up and says to table 1, "Jolene, are people back there choosing to put their heads down?"
Response: "No."
Evaluation: "Then you need to choose to be quiet."

An example showing how the form of the classroom culture is preserved is the following.

Elicitation: Mr. V. says, "Do you see the box at the top? Do you know what I am talking about? Count the sticks. When you are absolutely sure of the number, write the number there."
Response: The children work in their workbooks.
Evaluation: Mr. V. glances around at the children working at tables 1 and 2. "I see Freddy is busy." Freddy is at table 2.
Elicitation: (Implied).
Response: One child has finished the top exercise. "Now I'll do the bottom."
Evaluation: "Ok, get your numbers neat. Don't make them messy."
Elicitation: (Implied).
Response: "Another child asks, "What if we don't finish?"
Evlauation: Mr. V. says, "You will. Think positively. Don't talk about it, just do it. It takes up extra time talking about it."
Elicitation: Mr. V. goes and gets tongue depressors which he gives to one child to work with.
Response: The student works with tongue depressors.
Evaluation: "The room is quiet now."
Elicitation: Mr. V. walks back to table 1. He says, "Remember when you get rid of the water you pour it in here ( a white bowl). Then you empty it in the sink. That makes less of a mess."
Response: Children continue working.
Evaluation: Mr. V. then walks to table 2. "Jeannette is working so quietly. That is so helpful. She does not bother other people who are working." One child at table 3 is all

finished. "It is good to write neatly and be fast too. You have done a good job. While you are waiting for the rest of the group you can go back and work on some of the easy ones."

Observer's notes: One child is sitting at table 3 with his workbook, doing absolutely nothing. I think he came in late and does not know what he is supposed to do.

Elicitation: "Don't you know what to do?" Mr. V. demonstrates. "See if you can do all the rest of them."

Observer's notes: (Someone comes in. None of the children in this room are ones she wants. She wants Vietnamese children).

Response: Student goes to work.

Evaluation: (Inferred).

Elicitation: (Implied).

Response: Another child finishes.

Evaluation: Mr. V. looks at the work and writes a big star in the middle of the work. Mr. V. now moves to monitor the children at table 2. "Shouldn't it be Anita's turn next?"

Elicitation by student: "Mr. V."

Response by teacher: Mr. V. goes to the child who called his name.

Evaluation: He looks at his work and gives him a star.

Elicitation: (Implied).

Response: Pedro is bouncing around. A child at table 2 is all upset. Two of the other girls ask, "What's the matter?"

Evaluation: (None). The practice drill is over and Mr. V. dismisses the children to recess.

When the practice drill is successful and the culture in place, opportunity is then provided for children to go beyond the minimal requirements. The following is an example of this outcome.

Elicitation: "What are we going to do? Write a Thanksgiving story. Your name goes on the upper top."

Response: One child says, "Upper right corner." The students write in their papers.

Evaluation: "Your first and last in your very neatest letters. I want you to have your imaginary margin line on the left side."

Elicitation: "This is a short story about something that is happening today. What is our title?" Mr. V. writes on the board, "The Day the Sky Went Dark." Mr. V. then walked to table 2 to see how they were doing. "I am going to indent on the first line. I am going to come in about 3 letters away from the margin."

Response: A child says, "At least three letters."

Evaluation: (Inferred).

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | Mr. V. writes, A big fire is burning outside. "If you can fit that much on the first line, that is good. If not, go to the next line. |
| Response by student: | "Why do we have a period there?" a student asks. |
| Response by teacher: | "That is the end of the sentence." |
| Evaluation: | (Inferred). |
| Elicitation: | Mr. V. writes, The smoke is turning the sky dark. "You notice the first line I indent. The next line I come to the margin." |
| Response: | "Is that it?" |
| Evaluation: | "That is it. I want to see very neat writing." |
| Elicitation by student: | One child says, "Then I can make a picture." She likes to illustrate her stories. |
| Elicitation by teacher: | Mr. V. says, "When you have finished, then, you may make a picture. I will be very interested to see what you can come up with. You may use your crayons. You can draw the picture in the big space above the title." |
| Response: | The children finish their writing exercise. |
| Evaluation: | It is very quiet in here. The children are really into this exercise. "When you finish your picture, put your pages on my desk and line up at the door. It is time for recess." |

As was stated previously, our data do not show Mrs. Y. engaging in activity lessons. We do, however, have examples of drill practice lessons. Keeping in mind that Mrs. Y.'s intentions are not as clear as Mr. V.'s, we can expect that her manner of establishing a classroom culture will be less successful. We should also expect that the breakdown is in the form. The following is an example of one of her lessons.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "Carlissa, are you working?" |
| Response: | "I don't have a pencil for Carlissa." |
| Response by teacher: | "John, if you do not bring your spelling tomorrow you will have to get a red mark. I will trust you to bring it tomorrow." |
| Response by student: | John told her that he had done it but had forgotten it at home. Two boys go up and hand in their work. |
| Evaluation: | "Christian, you get two green marks. (This takes, time, but I sort of feel it is worth it," Mrs. Y. says to me, the observer). |

Elicitation: "Brenda, when am I going to see your mother?" (Brenda has been sort of antsy lately. The aide has just called out Brenda's name to get to work). "Chris, I hope you are working because you only got 5 points last week. Chris, do you see where you are? Do you not have any this week?" Mrs. Y. points to where Chris' name and line are on the chart. "Andy, you did it? I won't give you a red mark. I will put a question mark and you bring it tomorrow. Natan, will you sit down?"

Response: "I don't have a pencil."

Response by teacher: "Doesn't anyone have a pencil for Natan?"

Elicitation: "Third graders that were with Miss Yvonne yesterday, you go with her today. Yetta, your mother spoke to me so you bring your work tomorrow."

Evaluation: "Michael, real nice."

Elicitation: "Dorie."

Response: "You already saw mine."

Response by teacher: "I know. I was calling your name because you were talking."

Evaluation: "Tanika, you did your work very well. I really like the way you are doing your work. And you did it so well. You will get an extra green mark. James, you did two nights' work. That is very good. You get two green marks for that. Alright, some people made real good scores. Annie got four of them. Dorie got three. You know the bookkeeping. We need a clerk in every classroom." Mrs. Y. is finished with the chart.

As was stated earlier, one reason the form is not adhered to is because the teacher is not explicit from the start. The structure of the lesson is to elicit in order to obtain a response, which is then followed by an evaluation. From the data presented above it can be seen how the teacher does not adhere to the form, so that the students are unclear about their actions and responses. The most obvious breakdown is in the following passage.

Elicitation: "Dorie."

Response: "You already saw mine."

Response extended by teacher: "I know. I was calling your name because you were talking."

We've been asserting that lessons serve to establish a culture and the indicant of being successful is that students behave properly. Therefore,

non-adherence to the structure of lessons finally leads to the breakdown of the culture displayed by student misbehavior. What is most revealing is that the students have failed to understand "of how things are done and what is or is not done"(Winter, 1966:133). In regards to the teacher, the teacher is at a loss at how to restore order and go about developing the necessary classroom culture. This inability ultimately leads to a feeling of futility where the system of rewards is no longer operating. The classroom and the students, then, do not serve the function of rewarding the teacher for his/her efforts.

Another example which further illustrates the importance of adhering to structure is the following.

> Mrs. Y. explains to the researcher the manner by which the class does its math. She says, "Each student has a floor plan in relation to his/her proficiencies and each wors on what he/she needs. I check to see how students do and make sure they understand what they are doing. The children get individual instructions, take it back to their desks and get to work."
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Observer's notes: | Mrs. Y. talks rather loudly to the class as a whole but she is not shouting in the traditional sense. She is a loud volumed lady. The aide has been working with papers at a table and is talking with her son. A child comes in with a new skillpak. |
> | Evaluation: | "Your mother will be so proud of you." (The child has just passed a reading test that was administered at the resource center). |
> | Elicitation: | "Eric, I want you to read to Rudie. Read to him from your skillpak. (We are real formal in here. I hope you notice." Mrs. Y. pats me on the shoulder as she passes by. She went by me, the observer, to get a trash can). |
> | Response: | Children are at work. |
> | Evaluation: | The noise level is up a bit in here. |
> | Elicitation by student: | Another child wants to help Shamika on her new reading book. |
> | Response by teacher: | "Alright, she can read to you." |
> | Response by student: | Shamika gets to add her name to the reading list under a new book. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Evaluation: | "You get a new treat and two green marks for that. Your mom is going to be so pleased. Do you want a treat now or later?" |
| Response: | "Now." |
| Evaluation: | "You people who passed to a new book get a treat." Mrs. Y. gives a lollipop to each child who moved up to a new reading book in the past few days. |
| Elicitation: | "Alright, you people who came from the math room, you get your math folders out. Angelo, what did I ask you to do?" |
| Response: | Angelo then gets his math folder out. He had been doing nothing. The children have come to Mrs. Y. for help at her desk. They are working on things individually at their desks. There has been no group teaching. |
| Elicitation: | "Ok, Todd, move yourself to the back table. Get your things. Are you working? I would never know it." |
| Response: | One child is going to read to another child. And Rudie is listening to Shamika read. |
| Elicitation: | "Nichole, Nichole, you had better get some points for passing your skilpak. Bring it up here to me." |
| Response by teacher: | Mrs. Y. leaves her desk and walks over to help a child at the child's desk. |
| Response by students: | Children go to teacher's desk. Two children are now standing at Mrs. Y.'s desk. |
| Elicitation: | "Angelo, if you do not get to work you will be in real trouble. Do you need some help?" |
| Response: | "No." |
| Observer's notes: | Angelo has lost his pencil and is annoyed that Mrs. Y. will not give him another. The November supply of pencils that she is entitled to hand out is gone. Angelo is having to write with a crayon to do his math. The aide is checking reading work that the children have done. This work is on ditto sheets and stapled together in book form. A boy has just come back from the lab. Mrs. Y. says to me, "Some of the tests are so long that they get worn out by the time they get to the comprehension. They do the vocabulary and decoding first. I will have to remind them to do the comprehension first." |
| Elicitation: | "I think you had better work on your math now. You are getting tired working on your reading. Get your math out and bring it up so I can see what you need to do." |
| Response: | Student starts to work. Nathan has left his seat and is socializing with Dorie and another boy. |
| Elicitation by aide: | "Nathan, will you sit down and get busy?" |
| Elicitation by teacher: | "Nathan, come here. Bring that with you." |
| Response: | Nathan brings up a toy which Mrs. Y. puts in her desk. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Evaluation: | "It will have to stay in here today." |
| Elicitation: | "You have work to do and you need to get to it." |
| Response: | Nathan returned to his seat but he did not start working. Nathan has not been working all morning. |
| Elicitation: | "Shamika, is Rudie working with you or are you goofing? Dorie, get to your desk." |
| Response: | "I don't want to do anything." |
| Response by teacher: | "Well, you need to get to your reading. You still have something to do there." |
| Elicitation: | "Christian, come here. Bring some of your books and come back here." (The aide says to me, the observer, "Christian is a day dreamer.") |
| Response: | Some children are busy at work. Some are working together. Some are not working at all. |
| Elicitation: | "Let's have all the one's, two's come back here." She goes to a table in the back of the room. |
| Response: | The members of the reading group she has called come and join her at the table. |
| Evaluation: | "It is taking an awful long time for some of you to get here." Another child has come back from the lab. Mrs. Y. looks at what he brought back with him and goes over it with him. The reading group waits while she does this. |
| Elicitation: | "Eric, sit down please." |
| Elicitation by aide: | "What do you need, Brenda?" |
| Elicitation by teacher: | "Alright, here we go. Everyone read me the title. Who is going to read first?" |
| Response: | A child begins to read and another member of the group says, "I can't hear him." |
| Response by aide: | "You can probably test after recess," the aide says to a child. |
| Elicitation by student: | Eric comes up to the aide, "How do you do this page?" |
| Response by aide: | The aide explains. |
| Evaluation: | Rochelle is the only third grader in this room that is reading at the third grade level. |
| Elicitation by aide: | The aide says, "Let's see who's ready and can clean up for recess quietly." |
| Response: | The students put away their things and go to recess. |

The example presented above illustrates how non-adherence to lesson structure leads to a breakdown. We also see how the structure gets distorted. In the case above we see the teacher extending the responses, failing to bring

closure to a sequence by using evaluation and also by having the aide enter into the interaction. What is seen are multiple lessons going on creating a culture of fragmentation and segmentation, rather than a total classroom structure where the form of the lesson is adhered to by everyone participating. In this sense, there is another consequence, the non-participant is not as obvious as in Mr. V.'s Classroom. Also, the penalty for not participating is not as severe for the individual student. Another consequence is how the total classroom can be a uniform culture or composed of fragmented cultures and how the quality of individual attention to students may serve to determine the nature of the classroom culture.

In the following example, we see the destruction of the conduct of the lesson.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "Ok, here we go children. Nathan, sit down please." |
| Response: | "I didn't get any paper." Eric gives him a piece of paper. There is quite a bit of racket now as they settle in to begin writing. It quiets down a bit but there is a low murmur. Dischelle has a number of erasers with her name written on them. |
| Elicitation: | "Are those erasers yours?" |
| Response: | Dischelle breaks into tears. She says, "I brought them from home." |
| Response by teacher: | "Dischelle, please don't bring them from home. They look too much like school erasers." |
| Response: | This does not stop Dishelle from crying and she ignores Mrs. Y. |
| Response by teacher: | "Dischelle, I am going to phone your mother this afternoon and tell her I need to talk with her." |
| Response: | Dischelle is regaining her self composure. |
| Elicitation: | "Chris, come here old Bean. Bring your paper with you. Sit back at Roger's desk. Third graders, please note that I added one more sentence on yours. Who can read it?" |
| Response: | A child reads it out loud. "Today farmers grow oranges, lemons, wheat and cotton." |
| Evaluation: | "Very good." (Mrs. Y. says to me, the observer, "We have only done two of these. We are still in the process of learning to copy from the blackboard." Dischelle is |

looking at a book. She is not doing the board work).

Elicitation by student: A child goes to Mrs. Y. to show her her work.
Response: "You may go sit with Shamika if you do not talk."
Evaluation: "You are doing well."
Elicitation: "Dischelle, come here please. Dischelle, come here."
Response: Dischelle comes up to the desk.
Response by teacher: Mrs. Y. writes a note.
Response by student: Dischelle stands and waits at the desk.
Elicitation: "Who's talking? Nathan, sit down."
Response: The student sits down.
Evaluation: The room is fairly quiet now.
Observer's notes: Larry is using a counter top near the window to write on. He writes, looks out the window and writes again.
Elicitation: "When you are through with your paper, bring it up to me. Nathan, I don't want to tell you again. Sit down." Mrs. Y. gave Dischelle the note to take home to her mother.
Response: Dischelle went and sat down. Then she got up and got a piece of paper.
Elicitation: "Larry, come and bring your paper."
Observer's notes: Brenda is standing up at her seat and is socializing. The reading group has not gotten together again.
Elicitation: "Put your name in the upper right hand corner so you don't lose it, if it slips out of your folder. Larry, you left out a sentence. I want you to sit down and write it in. Keep your mind on what you are doing."
Observer's notes: The children have folders for their state work. Inside the folder is a map of the United States. When they are finished writing they get to color it in their map. Rochelle did her work on notebook paper instead of the paper that Eric passed out.
Elicitation: "I want you to do it on this kind of paper. I want them to go in your folders and be all the same."
Response: Rochelle gets a piece of paper, returns to her seat and puts her head down. She feels absolutely let down. She is now writing it over again but she is very upset. When students finish writing they come up and get their folders.
Evaluation: Mrs. Y. checks the work and hands them their folders.
Elicitation: "Outline your state in light purple, Christian, where are you going to put Arizona?"
Response: Christian takes his little map and goes over to the big map on the bulletin board to find Arizona. He points it out to Mrs. Y..
Evaluation: She nods, "Ok."
Observer's notes: Mrs. Y. cannot find Eric's folder. It is over in another

cupboard. Michael's is also missing.

Elicitation: "Michael, did you get your folder? Look and see if it is in your desk.

Response: Student finds folder.

Response by teacher: "Put this paper with it and hereafter keep it up here."

Evaluation: "Children, don't forget I still have my red marking pen. If you are finished and your desk is a mess, clean it up." There is a level of confusion.

The lesson which has been presented is an example of how the teacher-student interaction is extended. What occurs is that the teacher has to address each student individually to elicit a response rather than having the form determine what Mehan (1979:84) calls "turn allocation machinery" regarding the manner by which students and teachers carry on interaction in a crowded situation.

When students are individually engaged in drill practices, the dynamics of pulling off this interaction increase in complexity. The ambiguity of the total classroom's culture increases when students' activities are highly diversified. In this case, both teacher and students "stumble" as they attempt to gain equilibrium. The aspect that is most jeopardizing is that equilibrium is never achieved. In this regard it can be expected that a portion of the classroom's members will not participate in those tasks which are crucial to the maintenance of the culture. In other words, misbehavior among the students would be expected to increase. This would result in the teacher's inability to achieve those things which are most satisfying and rewarding in his/her work. Students' performance which can be attributed to him/her will not be evidenced.

Closing the Lesson

So far, we have presented the structure of the lesson as consisting of

a demarcation, opening, and instruction. It has been shown how each aspect is somewhat different for the two teachers who have been compared. Because Mehan (1979) has presented the teacher-led verbal lessons, we have elected to focus on the activity and practice drill lessons. As stated previously, one reason was to indicate how pervasive the structure is. Our other assertion has been that these lessons serve to develop a precise classroom culture. We have indicated how there are various ways of presenting each aspect of the lesson and its consequences. Now, we will present the closing of the lesson. What is borne out in our data is the consistency with which each aspect of the lesson's structure is sustained to the end.

Mehan (1979:46) states that the "completion of a lesson is a mirror image of its opening." While at the beginning of lessons, participants inform each other of what they are going to do, at their closing, they formulate what they have done. Our data do not show informative openings, therefore, the closings are expected to be directives as they are in the lesson openings. Our examples of closing are focused on form rather than content. As in the beginning of lessons, this formulation often takes the form of a short soliloquy by the teacher.

In contrasting the manner by which Mr. V. and Mrs. Y. close their lessons, we will see how the characteristics of the lessons' closings differ. Mr. V. closes his lessons in the following manner.

The buzzer rings.
Teacher
soliloquy: "Freddy, how are you coming on your J's? I suggest you hurry up and find some. We are going to rotate in about 10 minutes." (Mr. V. had been watching what the other two groups were doing while working with his group and Freddy's inactivity had caught his eye).
"Ok, magazine people, try and get your stuff finished up on that. Then clean up so we will be able to rotate."

"Johnny, did you finish all of your spelling lesson?"

Response: Johnny nods his head, "Yes." He has gone to the book shelf and is looking at a comic book.

Teacher soliloquy: "When you finish your picture, put your pages on my desk and line up at the door. It is time for recess. If you want me to hang yours up bring them over here." The children leave for recess.

The examples presented show how the teacher in a few words closes the activity or drill lesson. Students respond by finishing what they're doing. Even if queried, a verbal response is not forthcoming. This maintains the teacher soliloquy and control of the class to the end.

In contrast, Mrs. Y. closes her lessons in the same extended interaction pattern which has been present throughtout her lesson structure. This interaction may be by others besides herself and the students. The following is such an example.

The aide: "It is time for lunch. Let's see who is ready for lunch." The students begin to put their things away.

The teacher: "Children, don't forget I still have my red marking pen. If you are finished and your desk is a mess, clean it up. It's getting noisy."

Observer's notes: Most of the children have finished their work. Tammie's mother bought her a coloring book and delivered it to her at lunch time. She is showing it to other children in the room. Other children are straightening up and getting their coats on to leave. School is being dismissed in about 10 minutes.

The teacher: "Dischelle, come. Larry, if you are helping to clean up, fine. But don't be a yacker. Larry, Larry old buddy."

Observer's notes: Larry delivers a spelling paper to Mrs. Y. It is an old one that he has found on the floor.

The teacher: "We are not erasing the board today. Everyone is not finished. Eric, bring me your folder, please."

Observer's notes: Larry has put on his sunglasses and is strutting around the room. Mrs. Y. reads out the names of the children whose families are coming for conferences today.

The teacher: "Alright, children, what is it? Angelo, did you find your folder? Where is it? Where is all the stuff that

belongs it it?"

Response: "I don't know."

Student inquiry: "Are we going now?"

The teacher: "Angelo, sit down! Anyone not in their seats will be on my list today. I have a big long list."

Observer's notes: Mrs. Y. has given Jolene enough money to buy an ice cream cone.

The teacher: "You have been very well behaved all day and did good work. This is your reward. Extended day children can go to B-4. I have conferences.

Observer's notes: There has been generalized confusion in this room for the past five minutes.

The teacher: "It is now time for you to go home." The children leave for the day.

This closing differs substantially from the ones conducted by Mr. V., nevertheless, they are similar to the rest of the lesson parts this teacher has conducted. This consistency leads to the development of a particular classroom culture.

Let's return to the incentive and reward systems which are operating with the two teachers being reported. As was seen earlier the two teachers differ in their views concerning both incentives and rewards. Mr. V. concentrates on "getting the kids to like to learn." Mrs. Y. concentrates on "what children can accomplish." This distinction between the two teachers places prominance on two aspects of their work. Mr. V. sees teaching as the primary concern. Mrs. Y. sees the children's learning as the primary concern.

We can check these perspectives as teachers structure their lessons into the opening, instruction, and closing. Both teachers use directive openings rather than informative. The most pronounced difference between the two teachers is the degree to which they preserve the structure in the activity and drill practice lessons. Their lessons differ in that in one the content is primarily academic whereas in the other the content is behavioral.

What we see as well is an attempt on the part of Mrs. Y. to control the behavior through an external reward system for the students. That is, she grants red and green marks to students for misbehaving or doing well both behaviorally and academically. Mr. V., on the other hand, deprives his misbehaving students from participating in the lesson proper. These two forms of preserving the classroom culture is instructive.

As has been shown lessons are the means by which the classroom culture is preserved and developed. Mr. V. is very clear that the culture embody an active total class academic participation. Mrs. Y. is interested in individual children's academic and behavioral performance.

The character of the lessons is, therefore, distinct. Mr. V.'s lesson for example, is characterized in the following passage.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | Mr. V. writes, The smoke is turning the sky dark. "You notice the first line I indent. The next line I come to the margin." |
| Response: | "Is that it?" |
| Evaluation: | "That is it. I want to see very neat writing." |

Note how the teacher remains active in the drill practice with the students understanding each step of the exercise. Also, note that the task at hand is very precise.

In contrast, Mrs. Y.'s lesson is characterized in this manner.

| | |
|---|---|
| Elicitation: | "Carlissa, are you working?" |
| Response: | "I don't have a pencil for Carlissa." |
| Response by teacher: | "John, if you don't bring it tomorrow you will have to get a red mark. I will trust you to bring it tomorrow." |
| Response: | John told her that he had done it but had forgotten it at home. Two boys go up and hand in their work. |
| Evaluation: | "Christian, you get two green marks." ("This takes time, but I sort of feel it is worth it," Mrs. Y. says to me, the researcher). |

Here we see Mrs. Y. carrying on an extended pattern of interaction. The

content of the interaction is non-academic. The interaction is with individual students regarding individual work. This practice is expected to segment and fragment the classroom. Another aspect is the manner by which these teachers both reward and sanction students. Mr. V. sanctions misbehavior in this manner.

> "Did you get your magazine? You are supposed to be working over there. I will not talk with you. I will get you some magazines and you will work on them the rest of the morning. You two will not go to your groups anymore today."

He also gives stars for good academic work.

Mrs. Y. sanctions students with red marks and rewards with green ones. What is noted here is that both teachers know they have to establish a classroom culture. Both attempt to do so. Each, however, does so from a different orientation. Their intentions differ in terms of whether their focus is on teaching or on the children's learning. These two perspectives have differing consequences. One of the consequences is in the form lessons take. The difference in the form is more obvious in the activity and practice drill lessons. The most serious outcome is that the content of the lesson may be either academic or behavioral.

The implications for the reward system are that to the extent that the rewards are emanating from the classroom processes, those lessons which contain a greater proportion of academic content are the most rewarding. This is so because both teacherslook for evidence that children are learning. The difference is that one teacher teaches content and learning takes place in the process as he is teaching. This practice creates a particular type of classroom culture. In the contrasting case, the teacher engages in diagnosing learning and looking for evidence of student performance. This practice leads to an individually based relationship with students rather than classroom which results in a differing classroom culture.

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